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SOME CONSIDERATIONS

Upon the Present Attempt

DISSENTERS,

To obtain

A Repeal of the ACT

AGAINST

Occasional Conformity.

Address'd to a

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

We---after mature Deliberation resolv'd and determin'd to enter into a mutual and Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear----That we shall without respect of Persons endeavour the Extirpation of Popery and PRELACY, that is, Charch Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy.

Vide Solemn League and Covenant.

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KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

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Member of PARLIAMENT for the Borough of -----

Worthy SIR,

SINCE we have had the News, that there is like to be a Motion made in your Honourable House, for the Repeal of the Act against Occafional Conformity, in order to let Disfenters into Publick Trusts and Employments, great has been our Sollicitude and Anxiety about the Issue of it.

The whole Body of this Corporation, tho' they are known by all to be eminently well-affected to his most Excellent Majesty King GEORGE, and to be far from envying the Dissenters the Toleration they enjoy, are also equally Zealous

A 2 for

for the keeping up this important Fence, and Barrier of our Establish'd Church

and Religion.

What hath occasionally been said against this Repeal I have collected together, and here send you; a Freedom which I shou'd not have taken, but that I find great Numbers of other People have us'd the same Liberty; publishing their indecent Reslections upon this wife and excellent Law, with as much Boldness, as if it were no better than one of the French King's Edicts, with which the People of England are no way concern'd.

I most humbly ask your Pardon for the Presumption of this Address, and am,

with the highest Respect,

SIR,

Your most obedient

.dPRIL isth, 1717.

Humble Servant.

Some CONSIDERATIONS humbly offer'd upon the Prefent Attempt of the DissenTers, to obtain a Repeal of the Act against Occasional Conformity.

Animosities were in too fair a Way to be compos'd, when they are so industrious to throw in among us, new Matter of Difference, and Contention. It was the hope and desire of all wise and good Men upon his Majesty's Accession to the Crown, that all who do indeed love their King and Country wou'd lay aside their private little Quarrels, and unanimously unite their Endeavours to promote the common Good. But alas! what Fruit have we seen of those Desires, and how have those Hopes been utterly frustrated! Disappointed Expectations have fill'd the Hearts of some with

with Disaffection; which join'd with the fix'd and rooted Hatred of others, hath produc'd a most Wicked and Unnatural Rebellion.

Now the Danger of this is past (if, as we hope, it be indeed past) an unreasonable selfishness and Perversenss is like to involve us in new Difficulties, and perhaps, in the end, may bring us into Dangers almost equal to those we have so lately escap'd. One wou'd think that Men who duly consider their former Hardships and Sufferings, shou'd be very well contented with so full and ample a Toleration as they now enjoy; and not aim at more Power than they themselves know well how to manage, or than can safely be trusted in their Hands by others. And, indeed, I think if it were only in Gratitude to those, who have been the Instruments of giving, and preserving to them what they have, they ought not to attempt the gaining more, to the prejudice of their Friends; and very probably, to their own Loss at last.

That which I shall farther do in the Profecution of this Argument, will be only to propose a sew Reasons, which convince me that there is no just Ground for the Dissenters to desire the Repeal of the Occasional-Ast, and that the doing so, wou'd be infinitely

prejudicial

prejudicial to our Constitution in Church, and State.

S. 1. Now the first thing that comes into my mind concerning this Matter, is, that this Ast leaves them in the sull Possession of all that they us'd formerly to claim, or desire, I mean the Liberty of Worshipping God according to their Consciences, without Molestation, or Disturbance. It only restrains them from a Practice not only very offensive to all good Christians, but even to the best among the Dissenters themselves, who (however, they may sometimes join in our Publick Worship to manifest their Catholick Communion) yet can never justify Mens doing so, once in their Lives, meerly to qualify themselves for Places and Preserments. Why shou'd Men desire an Ast of Parliament to reward them for Hypocrisie, and incourage others to follow them in it?

When the Diffenters were under Persecution and Sufferings, they then declar'd, they desir'd only Liberty and Toleration: It looks a little ill therefore, now they have got that in as full a manner as can be desir'd, to make such a bustle for more Power than is consistent with the Sasety of our Constitution; and gives Occasion to their Enemies to suggest.

gest, that, give them what you will, they are not to be satisfy'd with less than the Destruction of it.

S. 2. I observe in the next place, that notwithstanding the Clamours they now make against this Act, as obtain'd by Men who were not only their Enemies, but equal Enemies to the Protestant Succession, &c. I say, notwithstanding these Clamours, that this Act as it now is, is nothing but what was readily offer'd by the best Friends to the Protestant Succession, and most zealous Advocates for Toleration. This is evident from cates for Toleration. This is evident from the Act for preventing Occasional Conformity, as it was amended and agreed to by the Lords, in 1702. They then were all agreed, that Occasional Conformity to qualify for Preferments was a Scandal to Religion, and ought to be punished, and prevented. What Objections they had against the Bill as sent up by the Commons, were not taken from the Matter, but some of the Circumstances of it; fuch as the Penalty's being too great for the Offence, and other things of less moment.

But that which seem'd most of all to prevail for the Rejection of such an Act at that time (and is as good an Argument against the Repeal of it, in this) was the Unseasonableness

bleness of it. The Lords thought that in a Time of War, Alterations were unnecessary and dangerous; and were unwilling to bring any Hardships upon the Dissenters at fuch a time, to give them cause of Jealousies and Fears: And they tell the Commons, that tho' there may be some things to be found fault with, yet a proper time ought to be taken to apply Remedies; and that the attempting too hasty Cures have prov'd fa-tal. Now can any thing be stronger against the Repeal of this Act at this time, even suppoling (which I fee no Reason to suppose) that it is a little hard upon them? For let any one only consider our present Circumstances, and tell me if he thinks this a proper Season to make such Concessions to them? Our Governours may, perhaps, gratify a few enterprizing Men among the Dissenters; but they will lose the Hearts of a much greater Number of their true Friends in the Church of England, or at least administer great cause of Fear, and Jealousy to them; and give a handle to declar'd Enemies, to reproach, and malign their Administration.

And this is, with me, one of the strongest Arguments against the Repeal of this Act of Parliament. I love the King, and amperswaded there is not a Man in His Dominions wishes the Prosperity of his His Go-

B vernment

vernment with more Zeal, and Sincerity. Those whose Interest it is to have it believ'd, may represent all that wish well to our Establish'd Church, as Jacobites and To-ries; but there is no Man who truly values the Church of England, and understands its true Interest, but must be a Friend to King GEORGE, who, under God, is the great Bulwark, and only Support of it. This is fo evident, that the most blind and obstinate must at last see, and be convinc'd of it. But, if instead of doing what we can to take off Mens Prejudices, we go into Meafures that naturally tend to encrease them, and fet them at a farther distance from us, we make Enemies, and have no body elfe to thank for them. We may talk as long, and complain as much as we please of Mens Difaffection, Fears, and Jealousies; but nothing will cure, and remove them but a steady Adherence to the Interests of the Church of England, and an immovable Zeal for the Prosperity of our Nation; and this, at last, will make our Enemies to be at Peace with US.

§. 3. It is really a thing just and equitable in it self, that they who are profes'd Enemies to one half (at least) of the Constitution, should be excluded from any share in the

the Government of it. I do allow that the Diffenters are generally in the Interest of the King, and Protestant Succession. It is evidently their Advantage to be so; and they are not so blind, (as some are who call themselves Churchmen) to imagine that they can be secure under any other fort of Government. It is therefore no such mighty Wonder that they have been zealous for King George, when 'tis clear, they can't possibly be safe under any other. And verily they have their Reward.

I cannot but wonder therefore at the Boasts of some of their late Writers as if they were the only disinterested Loyalists in the Nation, "It will certainly (fays one of "'em) be hard if when they can gain no-" thing that is peculiar to themselves by the "Accession of King George, they mayn't be " allow'd to hope they shall lose nothing by "him. So that we fee they have no other Principle of Loyalty to the King, but the expectation of getting by him: And 'tis not fufficient that they are protected and fecur'd in the enjoyment of all their Rights, Civil and Religious, in common with other Subjects; they must have something peculiar to themselves; the plain English of which is, that they would be fet upon an equal foot with the Church of England, and by that B 2 means means gain an Opportunity of fetting themfelves above it. If the Government will not come into this Scheme, notwithstanding their Pretences of bearing so much, and complaining so little (a Character that was never given 'em, by any, but themselves) they do in effect say, they are like to be as uneasse, and as little given to Loyalty, as those of whom they make such sad Complaints.

We grant they are now Friends to the Civil Government, but as to the other half of our Constitution, they are declared and avowed Enemies, and will destroy it assoon as they are able. And they seem to want Power for fuch a purpose. Some will fay, perhaps, No fuch maatter; they only defire Toleration. Let fuch a Person only suppose himself in their Case; that is, Tolerated to worship God in a way, esteem'd by them, most agreeable to the Divine Will; while the greater part of the Nation, in their Opinion, lie under the Power of groß Superstition, if not Idolatry, (which some of 'em charge us with.) Now can any thing be more natural to Men, who have this Opinion of themselves and others, than to endea-vour the advancing of that, which they ac-count the Religion of Jesus Christ, and the extirpation of what they call Superstition and Idolatry? And the more bonest and serious

fuch Men are in their mistaken way, the more mischief they are like to do; which, I think, is a sufficient Argument against trusting them with Power, till they know better how to use it.

This is so plain from Experience, that it can scarce admit of any dispute. For Twenty Years together, our English History is fill'd up with accounts of their manifold Endeavours, to destroy the Establish'd Church and Religion; or their various Me-

thods to prevent its ever rising again.

There are scarce any so ignorant in History as to be unacquainted with their Solemn League and Covenant, which vow'd the utter Subversion of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. and the whole Frame of our Church Government; or with their Directory and Ordinances relating to it, which thrust out our Publick Service, and made it highly Penal to use it, even in a Private Family; to which they adher'd so stiffly, that they wou'd not dispense with the Use of it, to the King himself, when he fell into their Power; nor so much as suffer him to be Buried by the Office appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, tho' it was earnestly desired. They were then, the most zealous Opposers of Toleration; and treated the most Moderate Men with the same Violence under which their

their greatest Enemies suffer'd. To be a Bishop, without any thing more, was Crime enough to entitle them to a Sequestration, and the other Calamities of those wretched Times. It is a piece of Justice therefore, which we owe our most excellent Constitution, to keep Power out of the hands of Men, who think themselves oblig'd to employ it for its Destruction.

Some fay indeed, that they are much alter'd now, from what they then were. And, I believe, fome of them are; tho' I fee no occasion in the world, to try whether they are, or not. I don't know, nor do they themselves know, but that if they have an Opportunity, the best of 'em may alter again. And then, what a blessed Comfort it will be, to say, — Who wou'd have thought it.

I will leave it therefore, as a first Principle confirm'd by Reason and Experience, that the most effectual Way to preserve a National Church, is, by keeping the Civil Power in the Hands of those, whose Practices

and Principles are conformable to it.

It hath, indeed, been pretended, that Occafional Conformity to qualify for Preferments, has been a Means of reconciling the Affections of Differents to the Church, and brought them to constant Communion. This 'tis probable bable hath been fometimes the Case; but fure not often enough to compensate for the Mischief it wou'd do the Church, to let them have the Encouragement of Places, and

Preferments.

The Differers are a cunning subtle Body of Men, and well understand their own Interest, and (tho' we are often such Fools as to do so) they never do any thing that is evidently inconsistent with it. If they were convinced that Occasional Conformity did them any hurt, or us any good, they wou'd never stickle so zealously for the Repeal of this Act, made on purpose to prevent it. No, they know that the incapacitating them for Preferments is a Discouragement that naturally tends to weaken their interest, and decrease their Numbers; and will probably, in time, be the best Means to reconcile them generally to the Church of England.

S. 4. I think the late and present Temper and Behaviour of the Dissenters, is another Argument against the Repeal of this Act. For when was there a Time since the Toleration, in which they have so violently assaulted, and insulted the Church of England? They have treated it with the same kind of Respect the World does a Man, who is going down the Wind. Their Pamphlets for Num-

Number and Bitterness have exceeded former Times, as much as their present easie. Circumstances are better than they then were. I cannot think that they are in a sit Disposition for more Power, when they do so notoriously abuse that which they at present enjoy. Let them learn and study to be quiet, and mind their own Meetings rather than thus follow the Church of England with their insolent Libels, in Contempt of the Acts of Uniformity, and without the least Pretence to a Toleration for such enormous Licentiousness. And when they use the Power they now have, as they shou'd do, it will be time enough to think of giving them more.

Nor do I think it a thing altogether improper to be observed, that the Dissenters take as much Freedom with the State, as they have done with the Church, in thus openly reflecting upon, and arraigning this Act, made for the Security of it. When Sacheverel reflected upon the Toleration-Act, it was justly thought a heinous Offence, and he was Impeached for it by the Honourable House of Commons. It was accounted a thing not sit to be endured, and of dangerous Consequence, that private Men shou'd take the Liberty to speak in that manner, against a Law in being. And yet how does

the Nation swarm with Pamphlets against this Law? How is it exposed as an Act unjust in it self, and mischievous in its Consequences, and, in a word, represented as the Shame, and Scandal of our Nation? And yet this Act for the better Security of the Church of England, was made by the same supreme, and high Authority, that established the Toleration. These People shou'd consider what they do, when they act in this manner; for if they may take the Liberty of writing against one Act of Parliament, I see no reason, why other Men (if they think sit) may not write against another, even tho' it shou'd happen to be the Act of Toleration.

S. 5. I cannot conceive that there is the least Occasion for them in the Administration of Assairs, and consequently there can be no just Reason for this Repeal. Yes, they say, the Number of those that are Enemies to the present Government is so great, that the Disserts shou'd be taken in to be a Ballance to them. I hope there is not so great a Number of Enemies employ'd by the Government: If there be, the Remedy is easie, and ready —— turn them out, and put in honester Men There are enough such, unprovided for, who will be glad to fill their Places; and there is no need of taking in another fort of Enemies, for that Purpose.

As

As to what they talk of Justices of the Peace, Magistrates in Corporations, and Officers in the Lieutenancy, not well-affected to the Government, the Remedy is also easie, with-out taking in Dissenters. There are sew Places (I profess I know not any) where there may not be found a Supply of Persons, who heartily love King GEORGE, to fill up such important Stations. But these People take a Pleasure in magnifying themselves, and lessening the Number of the Friends of the Government, only that they may be thought, the more necessary to its Support. And yet nothing can be more certain, than that to put them into Offices of this kind, wou'd do the King a much greater prejudice than all his Enemies that are now in such Places, if they really were as many as they (to serve their own Turns) represent them.

Their Talk of the necessity of this, in order to secure a good Parliament at next Election has nothing in it, unless we suppose, if the Dissenters be not put into Places, they will join with the Jacobites and Tories; which, I believe, their own Interest will restrain 'emfrom doing; and if it won't, I wish 'em no worse Reward of their Folly than the Consequences of it. For my own part, I can't help thinking that they do much more good in Elections, as they are, than they could possi-

possibly do if they were much greater; it having been my Observation all along, that Country People had much rather lead the

Diffenters, than follow them at Elections.

But when they have nothing left to offer for this Purpose, from the Advantage the Government may gain by their Preserments, we are then urg'd with an inherent Claim of Right to them. But fure Men are not born Magistrates, nor has every Person in the Society a Right to Govern in it. That arises from the Qualifications which the supreme Power supposes necessary to the Discharge of Publick Trusts, and their Opinion that such and such Persons are possess'd of them. If it were otherwise, the Papists may as wellplead their Birth-right to Places, as the Presbyterians. Indeed, there is this difference, that the Papists are Enemies to the whole of our Constitution, whereas the other are only Enemies to half of it. But I see no reason that Men shou'd be employ'd in the Conduct of the Publick Interest, who will not, nay cannot undertake to be faithful to our Whole and Entire Constitution; but on the contrary have a feparate Interest carrying on, in direct Opposition to it. If Men break themfelves off from the Body, they ought to be thankful that they are ttill nourish'd and protected; but there can be no Pretence for an C. 2 ampuamputated Member's putting in a Claim, to Order and Direct those that continue to adhere to it.

- S. 6. Let it be consider'd, that how much soever one Party among the Dissenters may be oblig'd, and serve themselves by this Repeal, yet all the rest will be made uneasie, and put under Apprehensions upon it. For they are all very sealous of the Presbyterian Party, and cannot bear the thoughts of their being posses'd of too great a share of Power; well knowing, by experience, that it is apt to intoxicate 'em, and push 'em upon much greater Severeties against other People, than they seem to care for themselves.
 - onsider'd, that as the Dissenters build their hopes of success in this matter, on their Loyalty to his Majesty King George, so it is certain, that if the Church of England had not also been equally active and zealous in His Defence, their Efforts wou'd have done but little good. And since they are rewarded with the Security of the Toleration, (which they us'd to esteem as a much greater Blessing than Places and Preferments) it is but reasonable they shou'd be therewith content; and suffer us to enjoy our Establishment in as much

Peace and Safety, as they do their Toleration; which they wou'd think very much endanger'd, by being made to depend on the Pleasure of those, who had always shewn, that they never wanted Will, when they had

Power to destroy it.

But they tell you, that their possessing Places, gives them no Capacity to overturn the Church; and, I remember, the Querist says, that in their present Circumstances tis next to impossible they shou'd attempt it. And I believe, indeed, that it is not at present in their Intention to do this; nor in their Power if they shou'd intend it. The Danger will arise from the growth and increase of their Power, with which Mens Dispositions do frequently change and alter. Am I a Dog, said Hazael, that I shou'd do this thing? And yet he afterwards did it without Scruple.

They are very ignorant of the State of our Affairs, who do not know that it hath been the manner of this Sect to proceed from Evil to worse, since the very beginning of it. At the first they only dislik'd some Ceremonies, and cou'd pretty well digest Conformity in the rest. In a little time they manifested a dislike of Episcopal Government, being better affected to the Device of Calvin; and together with that, they distasted also

our Common Prayer. From a Dislike some proceeded to think them Unlawful, and then fell into a Contempt of Bishops and the Prayers, bitterly railing against them. From hence they advanc'd to open Disobedience to all the Orders of the Church, and at last renounced it, and rent themselves from it, e-fleeming themselves the only Brethren, and Congregation of the Faithful. The next thing was to undermine and destroy the Establish'd Church and Religion; and by what, almost imperceptible, Steps and Degrees this was at last effected, is known to all, who are in the least acquainted with the History of those Times. When their usurp'd Don'linion was, by God's Bleffing, wrested out of their Hands, then give them but an Indulgence for tender Consciences and they ask no more. This is freely granted them; but are they contented with it? Nothing less! Now they must have Liberty to Print, Publish, and spread abroad their Pamphlets and Libels to bring the Established Church and Religion into Contempt. But even this alone will not do, without Liberty to set up Schools and Seminaries in order to propagate, and perpetuate their unreasonable Seperation. And when even this is indulg'd them, if they have not likewise Places, and Preferments, what an Outcry do they make of Neglect,

Neglet, Hardships, and Persecution? Now, if in compliance with these importunate Clamours, the Government shou'd let them into the best Posts and Preserments in the Kingdom, wou'd it be at all strange if they advanc'd one Step farther, and tumbled those down, who were the means of raising them?

I cannot positively affirm that this wou'd be the Consequence, but do verily believe there is reason enough to sear it. Let them therefore, in the Name of God, enjoy their Toleration in the fullest manner, the Law has granted it: But let Us take heed lest we are drawn into Measures that will expose us to the Necessity of a Toleration, which perhaps if we shou'd need, they may not be dispos'd to grant us, tho' we shou'd seek it carefully with Tears. But from that, Good Lord deliver us.

FINIS.









